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THE WORKS OF MR GEORGE BUCHANAN, IN THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE

CONTAINING

The Chamaleon,

A SATIRE

AGAINST

THE LAIRD OF LIDINGTONE

AND

AN ADMONITION

TO

THE TRUE LORDS,

MAINTAINERS OF JUSTICE, AND OBEDIENCE TO THE KING'S GRACE.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY DAVID WEBSTER, HORSE WYND.

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PREFACE.

The CHAMÆLEON, a satire against the Laird of Lidingtone, was directed against William Maitland, eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lidingtone, or Lethington, and secretary to the Queen Dowager Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland, afterwards to Queen Mary. A man of singularly rare abilities, but great versality of character. He was taken prisoner with Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who surrendered the castle of Edinburgh to the English forces, on the 29th of May 1573. Which capitulation was basely evaded by the regent, the Earl of Morton; and Sir William, with several of his adherents, were executed on the third of August the same year. The secretary, to avoid a similiar fate, put an end to his life at Leith, and died on the third of September, or as Sir James Melvile has it, "died in the old Roman manner, to avoid the shambles." Others, however, say, he was poisoned by the Earl of Morton.

The ADMONITION, is chiefly directed against the Queen's party, or rather that of the Hamiltons. In which he reprehends, with great severity, their intrigues and stratagems to get into power, and obtain the crown, to which they laid claim next to Mary and her son. It relates a circumstance differently from our other historians, viz. that James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, who shot the Regent Murray in Linlithgow, "was keipit in ye Dukis hous in Asrane." This is corroborated by his grave stone being found in Dundonald church-yard, inscribed, "Hyre lyes an honorabill man, James Hamiltoun of Bothuil-haugh." While the others represent him as having fled to France, and dying in exile.

D. WEBSTER.

EDINBURGH,
12th *February*, 1823.

Chamæleon,

WRITTEN BY

MR GEORGE BUCHANAN,

AGAINST THE

LAIRD OF LIDINGTONE.

Thair is a certane kynd of beist callit *Chamæleon*, engenderit in sic countreis as the sone hes mair strenth in than in this yle of Brettane, the quhilk, albeit it be small of corporance, noghttheless it is of ane strange nature, the quhilk makis it to be na less celebrat and spoken of than sum beastis of greittar quantitie. The proprieties is marvalous, for quhat thing evir it be applicat to, it semis to be of the samyn cullour, and imitatis all hewis, excepte onelie the quhyte and reid; and for this caus anciene writtaris commonlie comparis it to ane flatterare, quhilk imitatis all the haill maneris of quhome he fenzeis him self to be freind to, except quhyte, quhilk is taken to be the symboll and tokin gevin commonlie in devise of coulouris to signifie sempilnes and loyaltie, and reid signifying manliness and heroyicall courage. This application being so usit, zit peradventure mony that

hes nowther sene the said beist, nor na perfyte portraict of it, wald beleif sick thing not to be trew. I will thairfore set furth schortlie the description of sick an monsture not lang ago engendrit in Scotland, in the cuntre of Louwthiane, not far from Hadingtoun, to that effect that the forme knawin, the moist pestiferus nature of the said monsture may be moir easelie evitit: For this monsture being under coverture of a manis figure, may easeiliar endommage, and wers be eschapit than gif it wer moir deforme and strange of face, behaviour, schap and membris. Praying the reidar to apardoun the febilnes of my waike spreit and engyne, gif it can not expreme perfytelie ane strange creature, maid by nature, other willing to schaw hir greit strenth, or be sum accident turnit be force frome the common trade and course. This monstre being engenderit under the figure of a man chyld, first had ane proprietie of nature, flattering all manis ee and sensis that beheld it, so that the common peiple wes in gude hoip of greit vertuus to prosper with the time in it; other ferdar seing of greit harmes and dampnage to cum to all that sould be familiarlie acquentit with it. This monsture promovit to sic maturitie of aige, as it could easelie flatter and imitate every manis countenance, speche and fashions, and subtill to draw out the secreittis of every manis mynd, and depravat the counsellis to his awin proper gayne, enterit in the court of Scotland the , and having espyit out not onelie factiouns bot singular personis, addressit the self in the begyning to James efter Erll

of Murray, and Gilbert than Erll of Cassillis, men excellent in the tyme, in all vertuus perteining to an nobill man and speciall in lufe of the commonwelth of thair Cuntre. And seing that his nature could not bow to imitate in veritie, but only to contrafat fenzeitlie the gudnes of thir two personis, nor zit change thame to his nature, thocht expedient to leane to thame for a tyme, and clym up be thair branches to hiear degre, as the wod-bind clymeth on the oik, and syne with tyme distroyis the tre that it wes supported be. So he having cum to sum estimatioun throw hanting of thir nobill lordis (quha wer than esteemit of every man as thair vertuus meritit) wes sone be gude report of thame, and ane fenzeit gudnes in himself, put in credeit with the Quene Regent, verilie an nobill lady and of greit prudence, but zit could not espy the gilt vyces under collour of vertew hid in the said monster, speciallie being clockit be favour of the two forsaid lordis, in quhais company hir grace wald nevir have belevit that sic ane pestilent verm could have bene hyd. The first experience the said Quene had of him wes in sending him to France for certane bissines occurrent for the tyme, quhair he did his commissioun sa weill to his awin intention, and sa far from the Quenis mynd, that he dissavit the cardinal of Lorayne; quha, untill that day, thocht himself not only auld practicien, bot als master, zea doctour subtilis, in sic matters of negociatioun. His fals dealing being sone persavit, and he greitlie hatit, zit sche being ane lady of greit prudence, could not defend hir self frome

subtiltie, bot within schort tyme, be meanis of sic as belevit him to be thair freind, he crap in credence agane be ane other dur, and under ane other collour. Bot zit could not sa weill as he wald, invent new falshead, becaus of the auld suspicioun, and being of auld suspectit, sone persavit, and in dangerie to be taken reid hand and puneist efter his meritis, he fled out of Leyth, and coverit himself with the cloik of religioun sa lang as it could serve, bot nevir sa closse bot he keepit ane refuge to sum sanctuarie of the Papistis, gif the coort had changeit. As to the bischopis of Santandrois and Glasgow, and utheris diverse, quhais cautis were in his protectioun, and thairfore the haly doctor Cranstoun deptit to him largelie of the spoyle of Sanct Salvatoris college, and wes mantenit be Chamaeleon aganis all law and ressoun; beside that he wes ane man contaminate in all kynd of vycis. How far afoir the cumming hame of the Quene the Kingis moder, he wes contrary to all hir actiouns, and favourabill to hir adversaries, and inclinit to hir deprivation, it is noturlie knawin bayth in Ingland and Scotland, be sic as mellit than with the affairis of the estate in bayth the realms. Efter the Quenis cumming hame, he enterrit shortlie be changing of collouris, and turning out the other syde of his cloik, and halding him be the branches of the Erll of Murray, and for ane tyme applying him to the Quenis G. heir, that he allone wes hard in all secreit matteris, casting of lytill and lytill the Erll of Murray, and thinking that he wes strang anewch to stand by himself, on leaning to the Erll

of Murray. And becaus the Erll of Murray playsit not mony interprysis of marriage than attemptit, as with the Princes of Spayne, with the Duke of Anjou, with the Empriaris brother, the said Chamæleon applyit himself to all thir partiis, and changeing hew as the Quene sweyit the ballance of hir mynd, and followit the appetyte of hir lust. And at lang the Quene, be avyis of hir oncles, devysit to destroy the Erll of Murray, thinking him to be an greit brydill to refrane hir appetitis, and impediment to leif at libertie of hir plessoure; not that evir he usit ony violence anentis hir, bot that his honestie was sa greit that sche was eschamit to attempt ony thing indecent in his presence. Sche than being deliberat to destroy him be the Erll of Huntlie, went to the north, and he in hir company; and howbeit the tressoun wes oppynit planelie, and Johnne Gordoun lying not far of the town (Aberdeen) with an greit powar, and the Erll of Murray expresslie ludgeit in an house separate frae all uther habitatioun, and his deid be diverse wayis socht; this Chamæleon, quhether of sempilnes, or for layk of foirsicht, or for bauldness of courage, I refer to every manis conscience that doith knaw him, he alone could se no tressoun, could feare no danger, and wald nevir belief that the Erll of Huntlie wald take on hand sic ane interpryis; howbeit, thair wes gevin advertisement of it out of Ingland and France, letteris taken declarand it, and the mater manifest before all menis ene. It wer to lang to rehearse, and not verie necessar for the present, it being knawin to sa mony,

quhat diverse purposis wer tane, quhat dangearis eschapit all the tyme of that voyage, untill the Quene come to Aberdene again, and how miraculous wes the victorie: Bot ane thing is not to be pretermittit, that the said Chamæleon wes ane of the readiest to gnaw the bainis of the deid, to spoyle the qwyck, and make his proffeit at that marcat. Efter this the oursey traffique of marriage growing cald, the said Chamæleon going in Ingland, delt sa betuix the Protestantis and Papistes, that he changeit dailie colouris, sumtyme flattering the ane, sumtyme the other, and making every ane of thame beleif that he laborrit onelie for thame; and amangis other thingis, be ane prevy intelligence with the Quene and verre few of the nobility, practizit the marriage of the Quene and Henry Lord Dernlie, of the quhilk he mad nevir the Erll of Murray prevy, untill all wes endit. Howbeit the Erll of Murray did nevir thinge, nor tuke nevir propose without his advice and counsale. Heir the mater quhilk he had raschelle brocht on, wes neir the point. Seing that the Quene of Ingland disagreeit with it for certane respectis, and the lordis of Scotland for the cause of the religioun, to the manteinance of the quhilk thay dessyrit an promeis of the Quene and the said Lord Darnlie, the Chamæleon in secreit flatterit the Quene, and openlie tuke the colour of religioun: And at the lang (seing my Lord of Murray, for being precise and plane in all his doingis, cast out of court) cled himself onlie in the Quenes colouris, untill that David prevailit agains him, and had in

a manner the haill credeit of all wechtie materis. At this poynt thinking himself in werse caise than he beleivit, socht to make an other change of court, and set up new play again, awaytit on the court sumpart disgracit, louking for sum new cullour to apply him self to. In this mene tyme the Quene seking to move sum thing in the religioun, made ane querrel agains certane lordis of the principallis of Scotland, the quhilkis, albeit that ane ressonabill power faillit thame not, and that the favouir of the cuntre wes for thame, zit to schaw thair innocency, quhen thai could not breke the Quenes obstinat mynd of thair destructioun be prayer and sollicitatioun of friendis, thay left the cuntre and went in Ingland, zit Chamæleon held the small grip that he had in court, secunding to David. In this mene tyme the parliament set to forfalt sic lordis as had fled in Ingland, except the Duke, quha did be intercessioun of silver by his remissioun fra David. The rest of the lordis quhilk were of wisdome or estimatioun, partlie requirit be the King, quha wes in na credeit in respect of David, partlie for thair awin libertie, conspyrit the deid of the said David, and executit the same. Chamæleon, chiefest enemy to David, eftir the Kingis grace, zit not being advertisit be the lordis of thair enterprise, and suspectit of the Quene, knawing his dowbilness, quhether for verie feare, or preparing ane entre to the Quenis favour, fled as others did; and efter lang fetchis brocht agane to the court, kest clene frae him all colouris of the Kingis, and cled him agane in the Quenis colouris, and wes ane of the prin-

cipal instrumentis that incressit dissentioun betwix hir and the King: The quhilk practize, howbeit he wald have dissimulatit, sum tyme brake out with him, as to ane nobill woman, praying God to gif the King and the Quene grace to agree, he answerit, God let thame never agre: For thay leving in dissentioun, he thocht that his dowbilness could not be espyit out. And than seing the Erll Bothuile cum in credeit, he flatterit him; and evin as they agreit in all pointis to put down the King, seing that he prospering thay could have na lyff, sa eftir the King deid, the Erll Bothuele, having in that practize knawin his falset, and fearing his inconstancy, and desyring to be deliverit of sic an witnes, socht his deid: And he having na refuge to the Quene for the samyn cause, tuke for a tyme the Erll of Mortonis collouris, and being born furth be him agains the Erll of Boithuiles power and hatrent, sa lang as he wes in feare lurkit under the Erll of Mortonis wingis, and the feir past schew himself the said Earls enimie: And having no sufficient cause, nor appearand indice of separatioun of company and kyndnes, he fenzeit that the said Erll of Mortun had conspyrit his deid, to be execute by some of the Erllis friendis; and to prove the said conspiracy, alledgit an famous witnes, (*majorem omni exceptione*) the nobill and virtuus Lady Gyltoun. Now to returne agane to our propose, eftir the deid of the King devysit be him, executit be the Erll Bothuile, for feir of the said Erll he lurkit a quhile out of court, untill the tyme the Quene at Carberrie Hill come to the

lordis, and the Erll Bothuile fled to Dunbar. Than he come to parliament, and with sume otheris participant of the Kingis slaughter, wald have had the Quene slane be act of parliament; and not finding mony consenting thairto, and speciallie the Erll of Murray, than chosen Regent, being in the contrair, he sollicitat some previe men to gar hang hir on hir bed with hir awin belt, that be that way he and his partinaries in the Kingis murthoure mycht be deliverit of an witnesse; knawing weill the Quenis nature, that quhen she wes misscontent of ony man, sche wald tell all sic secreittis as sche did knaw of him. This propose not proceeding as he desyrit, he turnit him first in flattering with the Quene, and send to hir, being in Lochlevin, ane picture of the deliverance of the Lyoun by the Mouse, and nixt turnit his haill wit to the destruction of the Erll of Murray, thinking that the wickit could not proffeit greitly, so just a man having the supreme power; and als seing that the Quenis craftiness was abill at the lang to overthraw the Erll of Murrays sempilnes. So he bendit all his wittis to the said Erllis eversioun, and the Quenis restitution, and procedit in this cause, partlie be making an factioun of the counsalleris, and partakeris of the Kingis murthoure, of men lycht of fantasie and covatous of geir; partlie be correpting of my lord of Murrays freindis and servandis, and travellit principallie with the laird of Grange, thinking that it sould be an greit strenth to the factioun, to have the castell of Edimburgh at their command. The Regent being divers

tmyes advertiset of thir practizis, wes of so upright nature, that he wald beleif na thing of ony that he had takin in freindschip, quhilk he wald not have done himself, and als mony of the factioun in the begyning thocht it had been bot ane ligue defensive againis the power of the great, that is accustimat to overthraw the small in tyme of troubill.

In this mene tyme come the deliverance of the Quene out of Lochlevin, the quhilk he was not ignorant of, and specially by the meanis of his cousing Johne Hamiltoun of the Cochnoch (al. *Coheug*) zit he tareit with the Regent to keip ane collour of honestie, and that with the Quenis consent, quha had given him, and divers otheris that were in my Lord of Murrayis company, fre remissioun for all by past.

But the battell chansing otherwais than he desirit and belevit, zit he persistit in his propose to destroy the Regent, not openlie, bot be secreit meanis. As being sent divers tymes to commune with the Lord Flemyng, evir did the contrair of the propose that he was sent for, and evir tendit to hald the cuntre in unquietnes; and in all assembleis for appointment, tendit to have all by past remittit, to keep ay thevis and revaris in courage, and to abase the hartis of trew subjectis, that sould haif na hoip of redresse of wrangis done to thame be the Kingis rebellis. Efter that, be the dilligence and wisdome of the Regent, the cuntre wes brocht to sum stay, and justice like to haif the over hand, the Kingis rebellis purchassit at the

Quene of Inglandis handis, that sche sould consider the greit wrangis (as thai said) done to hir nixt nychbour, and being nixt of blude to hir, and other be hir requeist or puissance caus hir be restorit agane to her formar authoritie. The Quenis majestie of Ingland having zit no lest regaird to justice nor to consanguinitie, desyrit some of the principallis of the nobillitie to repair to hir or hir deputties for thir requeistis and complayntis, and my Lord deliberat to go in persoun wes in doubt, having ellis enterit in sum suspicionis of this Chamæleon, quhether he sould tak him with himself, or leif him beheind: For taking him he doubtit not bot he wald hinder the actioun in all manner possibill, and leaving him behind, that following his natural complexioun, he wald truble the cuntre, in sic manner that it sould not be easelie in lang tyme brocht to rest agane. At lang having deliberat to take him with him, and perswadit him bayth be giftis of landis and money, he fand to be trew in deid all that he suspectit afore; for everie nycht in a manner he communicat all that wes amangis us with sum of our adversaris, and armit thame sa far as he could agains the said Regent. Bot the force of the ressonis, and cleirnes of the haill deductioun of the caus that my Lord Regent usit, wes sa perswasive to the auditouris, that be Chamæleons advertisement, the kingis mother dischargeit hir commissiouners to proceed forther, and differrit to ane mair commodious tyme for hir: For it wes weill knawin to hir, that the quenis majestie of Ingland and hir counsall had allowit the said

Regentis proceedingis; and the ambassadour of Spayne seing the horribill cryme sa abhominabill to all honest men, refused to speik ane word in the mater, and the Frensche ambassadour excusit himself that he spake be command of his maister.

In this mene tyme the said Chamæleonis secreit practize with the Duke of Norffolk, suspectit afore begouth to brek out be sum letters of Maister John Lesslies callit bischope of Ross, and als be the Duke himself, put in hoip of mariage of the Scottis Quene be thame, the quhilk practize wes handillit. Sumpart putting feir to the Regent, that he could not returne in Scotland with his lyff without the dukis favour, be reassoun of greit preparationis that wes maid aganis the Regent on bayth the bordoris of Scotland and Ingland. Partlie be tempting of the said Regentis mynd, quha answerit to the Duke of Norffolk, "That he wald be glad that the Quene recognoscing hir falt, and repenting, soud marry ony gude Christian man of nobill house." The rumour of this dealing wes sa openlie spoken in the court of Ingland, that the quenis majestie wes constraynit to wryte to hir leutenentis to make the Regent be put sauf in Scotland, and so he wes without any recounter, bot of the Erll of Westmureland, not far from Durame, quho seing the Regentis company, and ryding throw thame, thocht not best to matche with thame. The next assemble wes at Glasgow, quhair the Hamiltonis bragging, but could not be party, be meanis of him and otheris thair favoureris with the Regent, wer ressavit to sic an appointment as wes greithe to

thair advantage, and the said regentis dissadvantage. And quhen thai sould haif gevin pledgis to performe the said appointment, as was compromitit, thay did bot seke delay; and so the principallis of thame (wer) committit to ward in the castell of Edinburgh. The haill mater wes secreitlie handillit be the Chamæleon. The quhilk handilling apperit more planelie at an conventioun at Sanctandrois; quhair thair wes twa headis principallie disputit, first, gif the Erll of Huntlie sould haif general remissioun for all reif and oppressioun done be him and his friendis in all tymes bypast; or gif the kingis actioun pardonit, prevat men sould have actioun to crave thair awin geir: Nixt, gif the Erll of Huntleis haill assistaris sould be comprehendit in ane remissioun with him. The quhilk twa headis the Chamæleon and his complices preassit ernistly be all meanis to be ressavit, as said is, and that not without boisting of Franche men and Spanziaris, and mony other inconvenientis, and all this done to disscourage the kingis trew liegis, and lychtning the hartis of rebellis in hoip of impunitie of all wrongis that thai sould do in tyme to cume, and to hald the haill cuntre in rebellioun and inquietnes, to consume at the lang the regent, quhilk thai knew to be puir of substance and liberall of courage. And zit wer not thir thingis mair subtilly devysed, nor thai wer constantlie resistit be the regent and his trew counsall. And seing that thai could not come to thair propose this way, thay cawsit new articles to be devisit in Ingland, towching the quenis cuming hame. To the quhilk, albeit thair

wes sufficient answer mad in London, zit for the samyne caus wes devysit ane assemble of lordis in Sanct Johnestoun, with ane addition of ane commissioun of divorcement of the Erll Boithuile and the Quene, and to the effect of the haill, mony writingis (wer) purchassit of boith wise men and greit men of Ingland, schawing planelie that it wes ane foly to Scotland to presse to resist the marriage betwix the Quene and Duke of Norffolk; for it wes devysit be sic wisdom, and to be executit with sic force, as Scotland wes not abill to resist; and not without consent of the quenis majestie of Ingland. Heir, albeit Chamæleon and all his quhelpis ragit nevir sa fast, the contrair wes concludit and schawen to the quenis grace of Ingland be Alexander Hume, gentleman of my lord regentis hous. And becaus the quenis majestie wes not fully satisfeit at that tyme, ane uther convocatioun wes hald at Stirling, to the quhilk the Chamæleon, assurit of my lord regentis clemencie, and proude in his awin consait, bot feiring for his demeritis, eftir sum dubitatioun come to Stirling, and wes in doubt not without caus. For, about this tyme, my lord regent, advertisit that the Hamiltonis had decreitit to murthoure him, he schew bayth the taill and the auththour to the Chamæleon, of the quhilk the Chamæleon reprovit vehemently the Hamiltonis that could not keip thair counsall mair secreit; and this advertising being schawen be sum of the Hamiltonis to my lord regent, zit he sufferit pacientlie. At Stirling the articles being declarit at greiter length, the Chamæleon wes attecheit be justice,

and chargit of the kingis murthoure, the quhilk greivit him havelie, and pressit at my lord regentis hand the cryme to be changeit, and he to be accusit of the troubles lyke to ryis in Ingland and Scotland throuch the forspoken marriage, for he thocht that mater to be consavit and devysit sa substantialle, that nouther force nor wit could maik impediment to the performance of it, and belevit suirlie that sic ane cryme sould redound to his greit prayse and opinioun of wisdom. This not obteinit, he obteinit aganis all the said regentis friendis will, to be send to ward in the castell of Edinburgh, quahir he wrocht aganis the nature of the Chamæleon, for he changeit the greiter part of thame of the castell to his collour sa weill, that the conspiracy of the regentis deid, lang afoir consavit, wes than brocht to effect. Eftir the quhilk he wrocht be sic meanis, that he perswadit the haill lordis than present in Edinburgh, to be enlargit of his ward, under promeis to compeir and answer to the cryme of the kingis murthoure layd to his charge, at sic day as he sould be callit, and under hoip to be an gude instrument of concord amangis the lordis, and an day prolongit to sic of the Hamiltonis as wald purge thame sellfis of the murthoure of the regent unto the first day of Maii. Bot sone being adjoinit with uthers of his factioun, he changeit that collour, and perswadit utheris complices of the murthoure for feir, and sum sempill persones be ane fals collour of profeit, to convene to an scherter day, viz. the tent day of Apryle, assuring thame that the castell (as it wes) being thairs, and the

town als, (for the capitane of the castell was proveist) that this rumour sould caus mony to convene to thame, and thair adversaris dissgracit sould haif na place to convene togidder, and that the Quene of Ingland troublit alreddy with civile warre at hame, mycht the mair eselie condiscend to that syde, wrait to hir letteres partlie flattering, partlie threatning, and to schaw hir thair greit power, send ane roll of the lordis of thair syde, quhairin wes comprehendit sum lordis neutrallis, and mony of the adversaries, beleving that leyis maid in Scotland could not be tryit in Londoun. And seing that the town of Edinburgh could not be perswadit to rebell with thame, and that the cuntre convenit not as thai hoipit, and the breking of the bordouris succedit not to thair proffeit, the most part fittit camp, and went to Lynlythquow, and thair set furth thair proclamatioun dytit be Chameleon, (as wes afore the Erll of Westmuirlandis second proclamatioun) and thairby set up the quenis authoritie, quhairof he (tarreing in the castell of Edinburgh,) kepit himself clene, as Pilat weseching his handis of the deid of Chryst. And sens that tyme, as afore, this gud subjecte and servand to the kingis grace confortit with counsale, and conveyit out of the cuntre the rebellis of Ingland, the samyne being enemies to the King of Scotland, and prattit proudlie, vanting that his pen sould be worth ten thousand men, and threitnit schamefullie (gif he had reservit any schame) the Quenis Majestie of Ingland with wordis of quhilk the memory sould be rather abolishit be punitioun of him, than re-

hersit for thair impudencie; and feirit not to mak sa opin a leye to nobillmen of Ingland, as that the kingis trew subjectis acknowledging his authoritie wer not able to assembill togidder fyve hundred horse, quhair thai saw, within few days, moir than fyve thousand assemblit out of ane corner of Scotland; and ay sensyne, he hes bene at all convocatiouns of the kingis professit enemies in Scotland, in Dunkeld, in Athol, in Strabogie, in Braidalbine, and ellis quhair, and kepis contrebank to Mr John Lesslie of Kingusce, in all directionis to put the king out of his estait, his realme, and at lenth out of this erdlie lyffe.

Now, I pray you, espy out quhat proffeit the quene, our kingis modder, sall gadder of him that hes bene (as sche knawis) sa oftentyme traitour to hir modder, to hir selfe, to hir sone, to hir brother, and to hir cuntre. Sche will be exemplis considder, that how mony collouris that evir this Chamæleon change, that it can nevir, againis the nature of it, turne perfytelie quhite.

Respice finem!
Respice funem!

Look to your end!
Look to a rope and be d——d!

ADVERTISEMENT.

THAT Mr George Buchanan is the author of the preceding satire is evident, not only from an old (if not an original) copy thereof in the Cotton Library, bearing this title, "CHAMELEON, written by Mr George Buchanan, against the Laird of Lidingtone, 1570;" but likewise from the testimony of his contemporary, the learned Mr Camden, who, in his Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha, Part II. ad annum, 1578, says, Lidingtonius Lethani missus, vi morbi, nec sine suspicione veneni exspiravit.*

* This account given by the learned Mr Camden of the disastrous and calamitous exit of this variable monster, and enemy of his king and country, and all good men, (at least according to Mr Buchanan's description of him) is confirmed by Sir James Melvil, a writer of undoubted credit, and contemporary with Lidington, who informs us in his memoirs, that the secretary died at Leith, after the old Roman fashion, to prevent his coming to the shambles with the rest, *i. e.* in plain English, he took a doze of poison (as Mr Camden says here) and made a scurvy elopement out of life, in order to avoid a more painful or shameful death by the hands of the public executioner, to which his merits so well intitled him; for, besides innumerable other most flagrant, notorious, and abominable crimes, he had some short time before his death, counterfeited the hand-writing of the regent of Scotland; which piece of arrant villany alone, being detected, would have brought him to the gibbet. And may all such enemies of

vir inter Scotos maximo rerum usu, et ingenio splendidissimo, si minus versatili: quo nomine G. Buchananus æmulus eum viventem scripto quodam cui Chamæleon titulum fecit, ut Chamæleonte mutabiliorem depinxit, nec non ut regis aviæ, matri, moravio, ipsique regi et patriæ hostem versicolorem acerrime perstrinxit. We have followed that copy in the Cotton Library, as we find it transcribed by the ingenious Mr David Crawfurd of Drumsoy, late historiographer for Scotland, in his valuable collections he gave in to the lawyers library at Edinburgh; and have rather chosen to preserve the obsolete words and old way of spelling, than to change either, as has been lately done in an edition of it printed at London anno 1710, being persuaded that though these alterations might make it more agreeable to some modern ears, yet the more curious will be better pleased to see it in the very same dress in which it came from the author.

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their king and country, and of all honest men, share no better fate, so that those who are equal in crimes, may be equal in punishments too! And let all the world adject their most hearty consent, and say, Amen and Amen! even so be it!

THE END.

ANE ADMONI=

TIOVN DIRECT TO THE

trew Lordis maintenaris of Iustice, and obedience to the Kingis Grace.

M. G. B.

IMPRENTIT AT

STRIVILING BE ROBERT LEKPREVIT.

ANNO. DO. M. D. LXXI.

Ane Admonitioun direct to the Trew Lordis maintenaris of Iustice, and obedience to the Kingis Grace.—M. G. B.

It may seme to zour lordschippis, yat I melling with heich materis of gouerning of commoun-welthis, do pas myne estait, being of sa meane qualitie, and forzettis my dewtie, geuing counsal to ye wysest of yis realme. Not the les, seing the miserie sa greit appeiring, and the calamitie sa neir approching, I thocht it les fault, to incur the cryme of surmounting my priuate estait, then the blame of neglecting the publict danger. Thairfoir I chesit rather to vnderly the opinioun of presumptioun in speiking, then of tressoun in silence: and specially of sic thingis, as euen seme presently to redound to the perpetuall schame of zour lordschippis, distructioun of this royall estate, and ruyne of the haill commoun-welth of Scotland. On this consideratioun I haue takin in hand at this tyme to aduerteis zour honouris of sic thingis as I thocht to appertene, baith to zour lordschippis in speciall, and in generall to the haill commoditie of this realme, in punitioun of tratouris, pacificatioun of troublis amangis zour selfis, and continuatioun of peice with our nichtbouris. Of the quhilk I haue takin the trauell to wryte, and do remit the iudgement to zour discretioun; hoiping at leist, that althocht my wit and foirsicht sall not satisfie zow, zit my

gude wil sall not displeis zow; of the quhilk aduertisment ye soume is this.

First, to considder how godly the actioun is quhilk ze haue in hand: to wit, The defence of zour king, ane innocent pupill, the establisching of religioun, punitioun of theifis and tratouris, and maintenance of peice and quyetnes amangis zour selfis, and with forane natiounis.

Item, remember how ze haue vindicat this realme from the thraldome of strangeris, out of domestik tyrannie, and out of a publik dishonor in the sicht of all forane natiounis, we being altogidder estemit a pepill murtherar of kingis, and impacient of lawis and magistratis, in respect of the murther of the lait King Henry, within the wallis of the principall towne, the greitest of the nobilitie being present with the quene for the tyme, and be zour power ane part of the cheif tratouris tryit from amangis the trew subiectis: quhairby strangeris wer constranit efterwart as mekle to praise zour iustice, as of befoir thay wrangfully condempnit zour iniustice.

Item, remember how far in doing the same ze haue oblist zour selfis befoir the haill warld, to continew in the same vertew of iustice, and quhat blame ze sall incur, gif ze be inconstant. For all men can beleif na vtherwyse, gif ye tyme following be nocht conforme to the tyme past, yat nouther honour, nor commoun-welth steirit zow vp then, bot rather sum particular tending to zour private commodities.

Also remember how mony gentill and honest

meanis ze haue socht in tymes past, to caus the king be acknawledgit, and the countrie put at rest, and how vnprofitabill hes bene zour honestie in treitting, zour vailzeand curage in weir, zour mercyfulnes in victorie, zour clemencie in punisching, and facilitie in reconciliatioun.

Quhilk thingis witnessis sufficientlie, that ze estemit na man enemie that wald leif in peice vnder the kingis authoritie: that ze wer neuer desyrous of blude, geir, nor honour, of sic as wald not, rather in making of troubill and seditioun, declair thame selfis enemeis to God and ye kingis maiestie, nor leif in concord and amitie with thair nichtbouris vnder the correctioun of iustice.

And sen ze can nouther bow thair obstinat hicht with pacience, nor mease thair stubburne hartis with gentilnes, nor satisfie thair inordinat desyris vtherwyse then with the kingis blude and zouris, the destructioun of religioun, banisching of iustice, and fre permissioun of crueltie and misordour: zour wisdomes may easely considder what kynd of medicine, is not only meit, bot alswa necessair for mending of sic ane maladie.

And to the effect that ze may the better considder this necessitie of medicine, remember quhat kynd of pepil thay ar, that professis yame selfis in deid, and dissemblis in word to be enemeis to God, to iustice, and to zow, becaus ze maintene the kingis actioun.

Sum of thame ar consellaris of the king his fatheris slauchter, sum conuoyaris of him to the schambles, that slew his grandschir, banischit his

father, and not satisfyit to haue slane him self, murtherit the kingis regent, and now seikis his awin blude, that thay may fulfill thair crueltie and auarice being kingis, quhilk thay begouth to exercise the time of thair gouerning.

Vtheris ar, that being alliat or neir of kyn to ye Hammiltounis, thinkis to be participant of all thair prosperitie and succes.

Vtheris being gyltie of King Henryis deith, in the first parliament haldin in the kingis regne that now is, could weill accord, that the quene sould haue bene put to deith alswa.

And seing thay could not obtene that point, the nixt schift of thair impietie was to put doun the king, that he sould not rest to reuenge his fatheris deith: quhilk thay thocht could not be mair easie done, then be bringing hame the quene with sic a husband, yat outher for auld haitrent, or for new couatice, wald desyre the first degre of successioun to be of his awin blude.

Sum vtheris ar practisit in casting of courtis, and reuoluing of estatis, be raissing of ciuile weir, and ar becum richer then euer thay hoipit. And becaus thay haue found the practise sa gude in tyme past, now thay seik all wayis to continew it, and hauing anis gustit how gude fisehing it is in drumly watteris, thay can be na maner leif the craft.

Vtheris of that factioun, ar, sum papistis, sum feynit protestantis, that hes na God bot geir, and desyris agane the papistrie, not for luif thay beir to it (for thay ar scorneris of all religioun) but hoiping to haue promotioun of idill belleis to be-

nefices, and lamentis the present estait, quhair (as thay say) ministeris gettis all, and leifis na thing to gude fellowis: and to this intent thay wald set vp the quenis authoritie, say thay.

Sum thair be also yat vnder cullour of seiking the quenis authoritie, thinkis to eschaip ye punischement of auld faultis, and haue licence in tyme to cum to oppres thair nichtbouris, yat be febiller nor thay.

Now haue I to schaw zow be coniecture, quhat frute is to be hoipit of ane assembly of sic men as for ye maist part ar of insatiabill gredynes, intollerabill arrogance, without faith in promeis, measure in couatice, pietie to the inferiour, obedience to the superiour, in peice desyrous of troubill, in weir thristie of blude, nurysseris of thift, raiseris of rebellioun, conceleris of tratouris, inuenteris of tressoun: with hand reddy to murther, mynd to dissaif, hart voyde of treuth and full of fellonie, toung trampit in dissait, and wordis tending to fals practise without veritie, be quhilk properteis, and mony vtheris thairunto ioynit, as is knawin to all men, ze that vnderstandis thair beginning, progres, and haill lyfe, may easilie remember to quhome this generall speiking appertenis in speciall: and als it is not vnknawin to sic as knawis the personis, how thay ar mellit with godles papistis, harlot protestantis, commoun brybouris, haly in word, hypocreitis in hart, proude contempneris or Machiauell mockeris of all religioun and vertew, bludie bouchouris, and oppin oppressouris, fortifiaris of theifis, and mainteneris of tratouris.

It is alswa necessarie to zour lordschippis to vnderstand thair pretence, that gif it be a thing quhilk may stand with the tranquillitie of the commounwelth, zour lordschippis may in sum part, rather condiscend to thair inordinate lust, nor put the haill estait in ieopardie of battell.

First, it is not honour, riches, nor authoritie yat thay desyre: for thay haue had, and als hes presently, and may haue in tyme to cum sic part of all thay thingis, as a priuat man may haue in this realme, not being chargeabill to the countrie, or not suspectit to ane king, and vnassurit of his awin estait.

It is not the delyuerance of the quene that thay seik (as thair doingis contrair to thair word testifyis manifestlie) for gif thay wald haue hir delyuerit, thay wald haue procurit be all meanis possibill, the quene of Inglandis fauour and support, in quhais power ye haill recouerance stuid only, and not offendit hir sa heichlie as yai haue done, and daylie dois in participatioun of the conspyritressoun, to put hir maiestie not only out of hir stait, bot out of this lyfe present: nor in resetting and maintening of hir rebellis contrair to promeis and solempne contract of pacificatioun betuix thir twa realmes: nouther zit haue houndit furth proude and vncircumspect zoung men, to hery, burne, and slay, and tak presoneris in hir realme, and vse all misordour and crueltie, not onelie vsit in weir, bot detestabill to all barbar and wyld Tartaris, in slaying of presoneris, and contrair to all humanitie and iustice, keiping na promeis to miserabill catiues re-

sauit anis to yair mercy. And all this was done be commandement of sic as sayis thay seik the quenis delyuerance, and reprochit to thame be the doaris of thay mischeifis, saying that thay enterit thame in danger, and supportit thame not in mister, sa mekle as to cum to Lawder, and luik from thame: in quhilk deserting of yair collegis, thay schew crueltie ioynit with falsheid, and maist heich tressoun aganis ye quene, pretending in word hir delyuerance, and stopping in wark hir recouerance, the quhilk (as euerie man may cleirly se) thay socht, as he that socht his wyfe drownit in the riuer aganis the streime.

It is not the quenis authoritie that they wald set vp in hir absence: for gif that wer thair intentioun, quhome can thay place in it mair freindly to hir then hir onlie sone? or quhat gouernour may thay put to him les suspect, nor sic men as hes na pretens of successioun to the crowne, or ony hoip of proffeit to cum to thame efter his deith? or thay that euer hes bene trew seruandis to kingis befoir him, sovld thay not be preferrit to his paternall enemeis, zea, and slayeris of his father, and sollicitaris of strangeris to seik his innocent blude?

Quhat then sall we think that thir men seikis vnder pretence of the quenis authoritie, seing thay can not bring hame the quene to set hir vp in authoritie, nor will not suffer the king lauchfully inaugurat and confirmit be decreit of parliament, to bruik it, with sa mony of his tutouris chosin be his mother, as ar not to be suspectit to will him harme? I traist it is not vneasie to persaif be

thair haill progres now presently, and in tyme bypast, yat thay desyre na vther thing bot the deith of the king and quene of Scotland, to set vp the Hammiltounis in authoritie, to the quhilk thay haue aspyrit be craftie meanis thir fyftie zeiris ago. And seing thair purpois succedit not be craftie and secreit meanis, now thay follow the same trade, conioyning to falsheid, oppin wickitnes.

And that ze may se quhat meanis thay haue vsit thir fyftie zeiris bypast, to set vp be craft this authoritie, quhilk now thay seik be violence, force, and tressoun, I will call to zour memorie sum of thair practisis, quhilk mony of zow may remember as weill as I.

First, efter the deith of King Iames the Fourt, Iohne Duke of Albany chosin be the nobilitie to gouerne in the kingis les-age, the Hammiltounis thinking that he had bene als wickit as thay, and sould to his awin aduancement put doun ye king, being of tender age for ye tyme, and be the deceis of his brother left alone, and that thay wald easilie get thair hand bezond ye duke, being ane stranger and without successioun of his body, held thame quyet for a season, thinking that vther mennis actioun sould be yair promotioun. Bot seing yat ye duke, as a prince baith wyse and vertuous, to bring him self out of sie suspitioun, put four lordis estemit of ye maist trew and vertuous in Scotland in that tyme, to attend on the kingis grace, (to wit, the Erle Merchell, the Lordis Erskyn, Ruthuen, and Borthick) the Hammiltounis being out of hoip of the kingis putting

doun be the Duke of Albany, and out of credeit to do him ony harme be thame selfis, maid ane conspiracie with certane lordis, to put the said duke out of authoritie, and tak it on thame selfis; that all thingis put in thair power, thay micht vse the king and the realme at yair awin plesure. To that effect thay tuik the castell of Glasgow, and thair maid ane assemblie of thair factioun, the quhilk was dissoluit be the haistie cumming of the Duke of Albany with ane armie; for feir of the quhilk, the Erle of Arrane, cheif of that cumpany, fled to his wyfis brother the Lord Hume, being then out of court.

The secund conspiracie was efter the dukis last departing (the foirsaidis lordis separat from attending on the king) deuysit be Schir Iames Hammiltoun, bastard sone to the said Erle of Arrane, quha conspyrit the kingis deith, then being in his hous in the abbay of Halyruidhous; quhilk conspiracie efter mony zeiris reueillit, ye said Schir Iames sufferit deith for it.

The third conspiracie (yat come to our knawledge) was, that the kingis grace ryding oft tymes betuix Striuiling and the Downe of Menteith, to veseit ane gentill woman of his motheris, making residence in the Downe; and commounly accumpanyit with ane or twa hors be nicht, the said Schir Iames proponit to certane gentil men ye slauchter of him, and assayit it not, becaus ye executaris wald tak na thing on hand without him self had bene present.

Thir conspiracies not being execute, Schir Iames

perseuerit in his euill intentioun, and be secreit meanis in court socht alwayis yat ye king sould not mary, that for laik of his successioun, the Hammiltounis micht cum to thair intentis. For ye king was zoung, lusty, and reddy to auenture his persoun to all hazardis, baith be sey and land, in doun-putting of theifis, and vpsetting of iustice. The Hammiltounis luikit on quhen seiknes, throw excesse of trauell, or sum vther rakles auenture sould cut him of with out children; and destitute of this hoip, first he stoppit the kingis meting with his vncle ye king of Ingland, quha at that tyme hauing bot ane douchter, was willing to haue maryit hir with the king of Scotland, and maid him king of the haill ile efter him, and to haue enterit him at that present tyme in possessioun of the duchy of Zorke. Bot the said Schir Iames euer hauing eye to his awin scope, hinderit this purpois be sum of the kingis familiaris, yat he had practisit with, be giftis, and specially be the Bischop of Sanctandrois, Iames Betoun, vncle to the Erle of Arranes mother, and greit vncle to Schir Iames wyfe, and raisit sic suspitioun betuix the twa kingis, that brocht baith the realmes in greit besynes.

This purpois, as said is, put abak, the king seing yat his ambassadouris furtherit not at his plesure, thocht meit him self in persoun to ga be sey in France: and Schir Iames Hammiltoun perseuering in his former intentioun went with him, to hinder his mariage, be al meanis yat he micht: and to that effect, the king sleiping in the schip

without ony necessitie of wynde and wedder, Schir Iames causit the marineris to turne saill of the west coist of Ingland bakwart, and land in Galloway, quhair the king was verray miscontent with Schir Iames, and Maister Dauid Panter, principall causeris of his returning, as diueris yat was in the schip zit living can report. And fra yat tyme furth, the king hauing tryit out his pretence, and persauing his vnfaithfull deiling euer disfauourit him, and to his greit displesure fauorit oppinlie the Erle of Lennox, and his freindis in his absence; the quhilk erle pretendit a richt and tytill to the haill erldome of Arrane, ye present erle for that tyme being knawin to be bastard: as also it was in mennis recent memorie, how Schir Iames Hammiltoun had cruellie slane ye Erle of Lennox at Linlythgow, euin to the greit displesure of ye Erle of Arrane, father to Schir Iames, and vncle to the Erle of Lennox, cumming be the kingis commandement to Linlythgow. Sa the king, as said is, vnderstanding the priuate practick of Schir Iames, in keiping him vnmaryit, hastit him the mair eirnestlie to mary, to the effect, that his successioun micht put the Hammiltounis out of hoip of yair intent, and him out of danger be the Hammiltounis. And albeit, yat Schir Iames, to mak him self clene of that suspitioun, socht mony diuers wayis to ye distructioun of the Erle of Arrane his brother, zit he could neuer conqueis the kingis fauour vntill finallie he was executit for tressoun, and tuik ane miserabill end conforme to his vngodly lyfe.

The king at last deceissit, and leuing ane douch-

ter of sex dayis auld, the Hammiltounis thocht all to be thairis. For then ye Erle of Arrane, ane zoung man of small wit and greit inconstancie, was set vp be sum of the nobilitie, and sum familiar seruandis of ye kingis laitly deceissit, for thay thocht him mair tollerabill than the Cardinall Betoun, quha be ane fals instrument had takin the supreme authoritie to him self.

The Erle of Arrane namit gouernour be an priuate factioun, and fauourit be sa mony as professit the trew religioun of Christ, becaus he was beleifit then to be of the same, howbeit he was gentill of nature, zit his freindis for ye maist part, wer gredie baith of geir and blude, and geuin to iniustice quhair gayne followit. Thair was in his tyme nathing ellis, bot weir, oppressioun, and brybing of his callit brother the Bischop of Sanctandrois, sa that all the estatis wer wery of him, and dischargit him of his office, and chargit with it ane woman stranger.

In the beginning of his gouernment ye quene and hir mother wer keipit be him, rather lyke presoneris nor princessis; bot zit that incommoditie was caus of preseruing of the quenis lyfe, he beleifing to mary hir on his sone. Bot efter the Erle of Lennox had delyuerit thame out of his handis, and the nobilitie had refusit to mary hir on his sone, howbeit he left his former freindis, and come to ye quene, abiurit his religioun in ye Gray Freiris of Striuiling, zit he could neuer cum agane to his pretendit cleaming to ye crowne, quhilk he had lang socht, partly be fauour of sie

of the nobilitie as wer alliat with him, and partlie be distructioun of the ancient housis that micht haue put impediment to his vnressonabill ambition. For hauing banischit the Erle of Lennox, he thocht the Erle of Angus to be ye principal that micht resist him, and hauing enterit in waird Schir George Dowglas, to be mair assurit he send for ye said Erle of Angus in freindly maner, and put him in presoun without any iust occasioun, and wald haue beheidit yame baith, gif the arryuing of the Inglis armie had not stayit his purpois: be the quhilk, and feir of the murmour of the pepill, he was constranit to delyuer thame. And seing he durst not at sic a tyme put thame doun be tyrannie, he offerit thame to the sword of the enemie, to be slane be thame. And to the effect, that thay and thair freindis hauing put abak ye Inglis horsmen, and ressauing ane vther charge, micht be the mair easilie slaine, thay standing in battell and fechting for him, he in ye battell behind fled to tyne thame: and sa thir nobill men, sa far as lay in him, was slaine, and preseruit be the prouidence of God.

The zoung quene quhilk being in hir motheris keiping, he micht not put doun, nor mary at his plesure, he consentit to offer hir to the stormis of ye sey, and danger of enemeis, and sauld hir as a slaue in France, for ye duchy of Chastellerault, ye quilk he bruikis in name only, as ye crowne of Scotland in fantasie: and resauit sic pryce for hir as treasoun, periurie, and the selling of fre persounis sould be recompensit with. Bot zit ye

couatice of ye crowne yat he had sauld, ceissit not heir, for befoir hir returning hame out of France, at the troublis quhilkis began anent the repressing of the Frenchemen, and tyrannie aganis the religioun, how mony meanis socht the Hammiltounis to haue depryuit hir of all richt, and translatit the crowne to thame selfis, is knawin baith to Scotland and Ingland.

Also efter the quenis arryuing in Scotland, scho seiking a querrell aganis the said duke and sum vther lordis, vnder pretence yat yai had conspyrit aganis hir, for ye religiounis caus, ye dukis freindis left him all, becaus that the rest of ye lordis wald not consent to distroy the quene, or derogat hir authoritie be ony maner of way. A lytill befoir the quhilk tyme, the occasioun of the dukis conspiracie with ye Erle Bothwell, to slay ye Erle of Murray in Falkland, was na vther, bot becaus the said Erle of Murray liuing, thay could nouther do the said quene harme in hir persoun, nor diminische hir authoritie, nor constrane hir to mary at thair plesure, and to hir vtter displesure.

Efter that the quene had maryit with him quhome thay estemit thair auld enemie, and was with chylde, the gude Bischop of Sanctandrois, first callit Cuninghame, estemit Cowane, and at last awowit Hammiltoun, not only conspyrit with the Erle Bothwell, bot come with the quene to Glasgow, and conuoyit the king to ye place of his murther, the bischop being lodgeit as he was seildoum or neuer of befoir whair he micht persaif the plesure of that crueltie with all his sensis, and

help ye murtheraris, gif mister had bene, and send four of his familiar seruandis to the executioun of the murther, watching all ye nicht, and thinking lang to haue ye ioy of ye cumming of ye crowne a degre neirer to the hous of Hammiltoun. And sa greit hoip, mellit with ambitioun inflammit his hart, for the kingis deceis, that within schort tyme he beleuit firmlie his callit brother to be king, and he (the said bischop) to be to him as curatour during the haill tyme of his nonwit: quhilk had bene a langer terme yan Witsonday or Martymes. For he thocht vndoutitly, yat the Erle Bothwell sould distroy ye zoung prince, and nocht suffer him prosper to reuenge his fatheris deith, and preceid the erlis children in successioun of the crowne: and the zoung prince anis cut of, the bischop maid his rekning, yat the quene and ye Erle Bothwell hatit alreddy for ye slauchter of the king hir husband, and mair for the innocent, wer easie to be distroyit with consent of all estatis, and the cryme easie to the bischop to be prouin, quha knew all ye secreitis of the haill disseigne. Or gif thay wald slay the Erle Bothwell, and spair the quene, thay wer in hoip sho suld mary Iohne Hammiltoun the duikis sone, quhome with merie luikis, and gentill countenance (as scho could weill do) scho had enterit in the pastyme of the glaikis, and causit the rest of the Hammiltounis to fon for fainnes. Bot efter that ye Erle Bothwell had refusit battell at Carbarry-hill, the and quene befoir the cumming of the Hammiltounis, come to the lordis, the Hammiltounis at that tyme disappointit, fosterit yair

vaine hoip with a merie dreame, that the quene sould be punischit efter hir demeritis, and wer a tyme in dowbill ioy: the ane, that being red of the quene, scho sould not beir ma children to debar thame from ye crowne; and ye vther, yat thay micht haue an easie way to calumniat the regent for distroying of the quene. Bot seing hir keipit, thay blamit oppinlie ye regent, quha keipit hir in stoir in dispyte of yame (as yai said, schawing in vnreuerend speiking quhat fauour thay bure to thair prince), to be a stude to cast ma follis to hinder thame of the successioun of the crowne. Zit for all that, thair wald nane of thame cum to parliament to further thair desyre with ane anerlie vote, bot lay bak to keip thame selfis at libertie, to repruif all that sould be done in that conuentioun and to fenze fauour towardis the quene quhome thay haittit sa, as gif be consent of the lordis, or vtherwyse scho wer delyuerit, yai micht help hir to put doun ye lordis, yat wald not put hir doun in fauour of yame.

This thair intentioun was oppinlie schawin, quhen the quene being keipit in Lochleuin, be commandement of the haill parliament, was delyuerit be conspiracie of sum priuat men, especiallie of the Hammiltounis. For thay assemblit all yair forces to put doun the zoung king, and lordis obedient to him. Quhilk euill will thay schew towardis the lordis at the Langsyde, bringing with thame greit stoir of cordis, to murther and hang thame (gif thay had bene takin presoneris, and the victorie fallin to the Hammiltounis) and the same euill will

towardis the king in keiping the watter of Forthe, that he sould not eschaip yair cruel handis, being assurit gif he come in ye quene of Inglandis power, that scho of hir accustomat clemencie and kyndnes of blude, wald not abandoun him to yair vnmercyfull crueltie experimentit alreddy in his father. And seing yat the prouidence of God had cloisit ye dure to all yair wickednes at yat tyme, yai haue neuer ceissit since to seik enemeis to his grace in all strange nationis. And persauing yat thay had fair wordis of all vtheris, except of the quenis maiestie of Ingland, quha vnderstude thair fals and tressonabill deling, thay turnit thair haitrent aganis hir, and enterit in conspiracie with sum tratouris of Ingland, that wer als euill myndit towardis ye quenis maiestie yair souerane, as the Hammiltounis wer to ye kingis hienes of Scotland. This is nouther dremit in wardrop, nor hard throw a boir, bot a trew narratiue, of quhilk ye memorie is ludgeit in mennis hartis, baith Scottis and strangeris, and the veritie knawin, be the quhilk ze may vnderstand the Hammiltounis pretence thir fyftie zeiris and mair.

Efter sa mony wayis socht be yame to distroy the richt successioun, and place yame in ye kingly rowme, seing all thair practisis could not auaill, and thair forces wer not sufficient, thay socht to augment thair factioun, adioyning to thame all that wer participant of the kingis slauchter, and had aspyrit to slay ye Quene of Ingland. And to the effect thay micht cum to thair wickit purpois, thay

in a maner displayit a baner, to assembill togidder all kynd of wickit men, as papistis, renegat protestantis, theifis, tratouris, murtheraris, and oppin oppressouris. As for yair adherentis in Scotland, I neid not to expreme thair namis, nor the qualiteis of ye conspiratouris of Ingland, for yai ar weill aneuch knawin to zour lordschippis. Zit ane I can not ouerpas, being ye cheif conspiratour chosin be thame to be king of Scotland and Ingland, I mene the Duke of Norffolk, in quhilk acte ze may se how ye thrist of zour blude blindit thame agains thair awin vtilitie. First yai cheisit the principall enemie of the religioun of Christ in this ile, accumpanyit with vther fylthie idolateris, to change the stait of the kirk in baith realmes be cutting of the twa princes: seing that thair authoritie standing, ye conspiratouris could not cum to thair intent. Nixt thay respectit in that proude tyrane, the vertewis that wer commoun to him and thame, as arrogancie, crueltie, dissimulatioun, and tressoun. For euin as yai had this lang tyme in Scotland, socht the deith of thair richteous prince; sa he in Ingland following the trade of his antecessouris, diuers tymes attempting tressoun, wald haue put downe the Quene of Ingland. Heir alswa apperis the Hammiltounis crueltie agains the nobilitie of thair awin natioun, in seiking thair professit and perpetuall enemie of Scotland (as his badge beiris witnes) quha sould haue spilt the rest of the noble blude of Scotland in peice, yat his antecessouris could not spill in weir: be quhilk electioun, being assurit

that na Scottis hart can luif thame, sa can thay luif nane of zow, agains quhome yai haue vsit sa mony tressonabill actis.

Thay do schaw alswa, how crueltie and auarice hes blyndit yame, that thay can not se, in bringing a tyrane to haue power ouer yame, seing yai pretending neirest cleame to the crowne, sould be neirest the danger.

And zit for all this, could thir men be weill contentit, gif be ony meanis thay could attene to thair intent, be spoyle and rubberie, as thay did quhen as thay wer placit in supreme authoritie, or be making of zow slaues, as thay did in selling of yair quene begin yat practise: quhairin howbeit the inhumanitie was greit, zit wes it not in supreme degre of crueltie. Bot it is na moderat, tollerabill, nor accustomat thing that thay seik: it is ye blude first of our innocent king, eqin sic as hes bene preseruit be wyld beistis: nixt the blude of all his trew seruandis and trew subiectis indifferentlie. For quhat defence can be in nobilitie, or quhat suretie agains yame yat hes murtherit ane king, and seikis strangeris to murther ane vther king? quhome sall thay spair for vertew and innocencie, that laitlie executit, and zit defendis the murther of the regent? or quha will be ouersene for law degre, or base estait, in respect of yai yat conductit boucheouris out of Teuidaill to slay Maister Iohne Wod, for na vther caus, bot for being ane gude seruand to the crowne and to the regent his maister, and had espyit out sum of thair practisis.

Gif this thrist of blude of thay lochlechis micht

be impute to haistie hounger, or ony suddane motioun, quhilk causis men sum tymes to forzet thair dewtie, thair micht zit be sum hope yat sic a passioun ouerpast, thay wald with tyme remember thame selfis, and efter power amend faultis past, or at leist abstene in tyme to cum. Bot thair is na sic humanitie in thair nature, nor na sic pietie in thair hartis. For not content with ane kingis blude, thay gaip for his sonnis murther: not satisfyit to haue slane the regent, thay keipit the murtherar in ye dukis hous in Arrane: maist lyke thinking as gif thay honourit not the doar, thay sould not be knawin as counsallouris of the deid, and wald tyne the gloir of that nobill act. And besydes all yis, yai ar not only contentit to maintene Scottis tratouris, bot alswa ressaifis Inglis tratouris, and settis vp a sanctuarie of tressoun, a refuge of idolatrie, a receptacle of theifis and murtheraris.

And howbeit the bullerant blude of a king and a regent about yair hartis, quhairof ye lust in yair appetite geuis thame lytill rest, daylie and hourlie making new prouocatioun, zit yat small space of rest, quhilk yai haue besyde ye executioun of yair crueltie, thay spend in deuysing of generall vnquyetnes throw the haill countrie, for not content of it yat yai yame selfis may steill, brybe, and reif, thay set out ratches on euery syde, to gnaw the pepillis banis, efter that thay haue consumit the flesche, and hountis out, ane of thame the Clangregour, ane vther ye Grantie and Clanchattan, ane vther Bakcleuch and Fairnyherst, ane vther

the Iohnstounis and Armestrangis: and sic as wald be haldin the halyest amangis yame, schew plainlie ye affectioun yai had to baneis peice and steir vp troublis, quhen thay bendit all thair fyue wittis, to stop the regent to ga first north, and syne south, to puneis thift and oppressioun: and quhen thay saw that thair counsall wes not authorisit, in geuing impunitie to all misordour, thay spend it in putting downe of him that wald haue put all in gude ordour.

Thair is a kynd of thair theifis euin odious to mair gentill theifis, quhilk calling thame selfis greit gentilmen spoyllis trauellaris, cadgeris, and chapmen, be the way, and ransounis pure men about Edinburgh for xx schilling ye heid, quhilk vyce can not proceid of vengeance of enemeis, bot rather of lufe and plesure in wickidnes. This kynd of men dois not only dishonour to nobilitie in steilling, and to theifis in purspyking, bot alswa to the haill natioun of Scotland, geuing opinioun to strangeris, that sum of the Scottis be of sa law courage, that men amangis thame aspyring to ye hiest estait of a kingdome, hes crouchit thame selfis in the maist law ordour of knaifis.

Now, my lordis, ze may considder how yai that slayis sa cruellie kingis and thair lieutennentis, will be mercyfull to zow: and quhen thay sall haue put zow doun, yat craifis reuenge of ye kingis blude, ze may vnderstand how few dar craif iustice of zour slauchter. Ze may se how cruell yai will be in oppressioun of the pure, hauing cut of zow, quhilk being of maist nobill and potent housis of

this realme, sufferis throw zour sleuthfulnes euerie part of this countrie, to be maid worse nor Liddisdaill, or Annanderdaill, and not only sufferis ye puspykeris of Cliddisdaill, to exercise thift and reif as a craft, bot nuryssis and authorisis amangis zow, the cheif counsellaris of all misordour, as ane edder in zour bosum.

Of all this ze may lay the wyte on na vther bot vpon zour selfis, that hes sufficient power to repres yair insolencie and proudnes, hauing in zour hand the same wand that ze haue chaistisit yame with of befoir. For ze haue zour protectour the same God this zeir, yat was the zeiris bypast, vnchangeabill in his eternall counsellis, constant in promeis, potent in punisching, and liberall in rewarding: ze haif zour trew freindis yat wer with zow of befoir: ze ar delyuerit of dissimulat brether, yat had yair bodyis with zow, and yair hartis with zour enemeis: that subscryuit with zow, and tuik remissioun of zour aduersaries: yat stuid with zow in battell, luiking for occasioun to betray zow, had not God bene zour protectour. Ze haif a greit number of new freindis alienat from yame, for thair manifest iniquitie in deid, wickidnes in worde, and tressoun in hart. Ze haue of the same enemeis that ze had then sa mony, as hes thair hartis herdinnit, and yair myndis bent agains God and lawfull magistratis: ze haue the same actioun yat ze had then, accumulat with recent murther and tressoun, to prouoke the ire of the Eternall agains thame. How far God hes blindit thame, blind men may se, yat hauing sa euill ane actioun, and

sa mony enemeis at hame, zit be hounding out of small tratouris of yair awin wickit conspiracie, (men execrabill to thair awin parentis, quhome amangis vtheris thay haue diuers tymes spoylit), be hounding out, I say, of sic persounis, to burne, murther, reif, and steill, thay prouoik the Quenis Maiestie of Ingland to seik vengeance of yair oppressioun agains hir realme and subiectis, quhilk vengeance iustice and honour craifis of hir sa instantlie, yat scho can not ceis bot persew thame, thair ressettaris and maintenaris, vntill scho gif sic exempill to vtheris, that althocht thay will not respect vertew, zit for feir of punitioun, thay sall be content to leif in peice with nichtbouris, quhairin hir heichnes hes alreddy renewit the memorie of hir experimentit liberalitie and tender lufe to this natioun, seiking on hir proper charges, and trauel of hir subiectis, ye punitioun of sic as we on our charges sould haue punisit: I mene not onlie of our traitouris, bot alswa ressettaris of hir maiesties tratouris: and in doing of yis, seikis pacificatioun amangis thame that violatit peice with hir without prouocatioun, seuering the punischment of sic as ar gyltie in offending, from the subiectis that hes not violatit peice. And as sho keipis peice and iustice amangis hir awin subiectis in Ingland, sa vnrequyrit sho offerit support to the same end in Scotland: and not only geuis remedie to our present calamiteis, bot cuttis the ruit of troublis to cum, and preuenis ye wickit counsall of sic as prouoikis Inglismen, and solistis Frenchmen to cum in this realme; to the end, that thir twa natiounis enterit

in barres ye ane agains the vther, yai may saciat thair cruell hartis of blude, yair obstinat will of vengeance, thair bothumles couatice of spoyle and thift.

Thairfoir seing God hes sa blindit zour enemeis wittis, my lordis, be in gude hope that he sall alswa cast the spreit of feir and disperatioun in thair indurat hartis, and prosper zour gude actioun, to the quhilk he confortis zow with his reddie help, exhortis zow be his word, and constranis zow be the dewtie of zour estait, and necessitie of preseruing of zour lyfis and honouris. For promeis being neglectit, aith violatit, subscriptioun set at nocht, thair is na meane way left bot outher to do or suffer. And seing that baith ar miserabill amangis sic as sould be freindis, zit better it is to slay iustlie, nor to be slane wrangfullie. For ye executioun of iustice in punissing ye wickit is approuit be God and man, and sleuthfulnes in defence of iustice can not be excusit of tressoun. And besydes that, God schewis him sa mercyfull and liberall to zow, in sending zow freindis be procuring of zour enemeis. Alswa the persounis maist recommendit of God craifis the same: for saikles blude, oppressioun of the pure, and of ye fatherles, cryis continually to ye heuin for a vengeance, quhilk God committis to zour handis as his lieutennentis and speciall officiaris in that part. And euin as he rewardis faith and diligence in obedience of his eternall will, sa he will not neglect to punische sleuthfulnes in iust executioun of his commandimentis.

Thairfoir, my lordis, as ze wald that God sould

remember on zow and zour posteritie, quhen thay sall call on him in thair necessitie, remember on zour king our souerane, and on my lord regentis pupillis, committit to zow in tutorie be the deuoir of zour office and estait anent persounis yat ar not in age nor power to help thame selfis, and ar recommendit specially to all Christianis be God in his holy scripture: and defend sic innocent creaturis, as may nouther do nor speik for yame selfis, from the crueltie of vnmercyfull wolfis. Neglect not the occasioun, nor refuse not help send to zow be God, bot recognosce thankfullie his fauour towardis zow, yat causis zour enemeis to procure zour help, neglect not the offer of freindis, in caice gif ze lat slip this occasioun, ze sal craif it in vaine in zour necessitie. Think it na les prouidence of zour heuinlie father, than gif he had send zow ane legioun of angellis in zour defence, and remember that he schew him self neuer mair freindfull and succurabill to na pepill, than he hes done to zow, and traist weill gif ze will perseueir in obedience and recognoscence of his grace, he will multiplie his benefitis to zow and zour posteritie, and sall neuer leif zow, vntill ze forzet him first.

FINIS.

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